

1993

RELAXED AND PARTICIPATORY APPRAISAL  
NOTES ON PRACTICAL APPROACHES AND METHODS

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Notes for participants in the workshops to be held in Norwich, Oslo, Karachi,  
Hanoi and Kunming in November and December 1993

These notes are an updated outline introduction to some aspects of participatory appraisal, usually known as participatory rural appraisal (PRA). The headings indicate some of the range of the subject, and especially some of the many methods now known. Please do not be put off by the length of the lists. They are a menu, not a syllabus!

And please read this critically. We are all struggling to learn and to do better, and I have changed these notes so often as PRA experience has spread and deepened that I am sure it must contain statements with which I shall soon disagree or wish to qualify.

Pointers are given to the history, rationale and methods of rapid (better "relaxed") rural appraisal (RRA) and of its further development into participatory rural appraisal (PRA). RRA is more "extractive" or elicitive; "we" go to rural areas and collect data from "them", bring it away, and process it. RRA remains valid and useful for some purposes. But now in addition, more and more practitioners have adopted participatory approaches: "we" go more now as learners, convenors, catalysts and facilitators. In a PRA mode, we enable rural people to do their own investigations, analysis, presentations, planning and action, to own the outcome, and to teach us, sharing their knowledge. PRA has been described as a growing family of approaches and methods to enable local people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act.

Some of the methods come from social anthropology. Some, especially diagramming, were developed and spread in Southeast Asia, as part of agroecosystem analysis, originating in the University of Chiang Mai. For RRA, the University of Khon Kaen in Thailand was a major source of innovation and inspiration in the 1980s. Other methods are new. What is also new is the way they have all come together, and the way both RRA and PRA seem to know no boundaries of discipline or of geography. Interestingly, RRA and PRA, developed in the South, are being transferred to and adopted in the North, having been tried and applied now in Canada, Switzerland, the UK, Norway, Germany and Australia.

The term PRA was used early on in Kenya and India around 1988 and 1989. Some of the early PRA in Kenya was linked with the production of Village Resource Management Plans, and some with Rapid Catchment Analysis. In India and Nepal from 1989 onwards there was a very rapid development and spread of PRA with many innovations and applications (see especially RRA Notes 13). Parallel developments have taken place in other countries around the world. Organisations which have given substantial support in promoting this spread include (alphabetically) ActionAid, the Aga Khan Foundation, the Ford Foundation, GTZ, IFAD, Intercooperation, IIED (the International Institute for Environment and Development), NOVIB, ODA, the Paul Hamlyn Foundation, SAREC SDC and SIDA, and more are coming forward.

Learning experience workshops for PRA have been convened in many places and countries now. Two international South-South field workshops have been held in India, in February 1992 and September 1993. The first involved participants from Colombia, Ecuador, Ghana, India, Kenya, Nigeria, the Philippines, Senegal, Sudan, Tanzania, Vietnam and Zimbabwe, and the second PRA practitioners and trainers from Bangladesh, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Kenya, the Philippines, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Uganda and Vietnam. Three Indian NGOs (ActionAid, AKRSP and MYRADA) hosted the first workshop, and two (ActionAid and OUTREACH, both based in Bangalore) hosted the second. Participants stayed in Indian villages, facilitated the use of PRA methods, and shared their experiences.

There has been quite a bit of other South-South sharing (Meera Shah in Malaysia, Parmesh Shah in Ethiopia, Uganda, Vietnam and Zambia, Jimmy Mascarenhas in the Philippines, Nepal and South Africa, Neela Mukherjee in Bangladesh, Botswana and Ghana, Kamal Kar in Bangladesh and Indonesia, Sam Joseph in several countries, John Devavaram in Uganda and Tanzania, Elkanah Odembo in Uganda and Tanzania, and so on), and there is scope and need for much more, especially at a time of such rapid change.

The spirit of inventiveness which is part of PRA is spreading, and helping people in different parts of the world to feel liberated and able to develop their own varieties of approach and method. People (both local and outsiders), once they have unfrozen and established rapport, enjoy improvising, varying and inventing methods and applying them as part of participatory processes.

The rate of innovation makes it impossible to keep up to date. I have repeatedly had to revise these notes. In India alone, now hundreds of NGOs and at least a dozen Government organisations are using PRA, some on quite a large scale. In Kenya, there seems to be a rapidly growing volume of PRA-type activity. The countries where PRA training has been conducted, and where there is substantial activity or where we can put you in touch with useful contacts include Bangladesh, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cap Verde, Colombia, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, the Gambia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Mali, Malaysia, Namibia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tanzania, Thailand, Uganda, Vietnam, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

(\*\*\* If you would like names and addresses of people engaged in PRA in any of these countries, please write to Helen McLaren at IDS - see the PS to this paper)

Creativity has been shown by fieldworkers, and by local (rural and urban) people with whom they have been interacting. Much else has surely been taking place in parallel, but which we do not know about.

A current question is what potential the approaches and methods have for different types of institutions. NGOs were the first main pioneers of PRA but increasingly Government field organisations, training institutes, and universities have requested training and are using and evolving variants of PRA. Activities and fields covered include village-level planning, watershed development and management, social forestry, tank rehabilitation, women's programmes, credit, client ("beneficiary") selection and deselection, health programmes, animal husbandry, agricultural research, and agricultural extension. Training institutes are interested in adopting and adapting the approach and methods for the fieldwork and field experience of their

probationers and students. The Indian National Academy of Administration teaches PRA methods to its 300-odd probationers each year, for use during their field detachments in villages. Universities were at first slow to show interest, but this has changed fast.

Quality assurance is a major concern among practitioners and trainers. There have been cases where the labels "RRA" and "PRA" have been used to justify and legitimate sloppy, biased, rushed and unselfcritical work. Any approach or methods can be used badly, and RRA and PRA are no exceptions. Part of the problem is that demand for training exceeds supply, although competent PRA trainers now probably number over 100 world-wide, with the largest group in India. There is a danger of trying to go too far too fast. PRA has become a fashionable label, with "expert" consultants saying they can provide it when they cannot. Already a case has been reported where a group in Europe claimed to be PRA trainers, were invited to a West African country, went, and wasted everyone's time because they were not experienced. PRA was developed in the South and most of the good trainers are in the South.

Some people whose attitudes are truly participatory can, with a minimum of exposure, simply go ahead and learn as they go. The short paper "Start, stumble, self-correct, share" encourages people to start, recognising that much depends on our personal behaviour and attitudes, and that we will make mistakes. Our behaviour and attitudes includes critical self awareness and embracing error; sitting down, listening and learning; not lecturing but "handing over the stick" to villagers, who become the main teachers and analysts; having confidence that "they can do it"; and a relaxed and open-ended inventiveness.

In the meantime, the methods have been spreading on their own. For example, one NGO, having heard about participatory mapping and "handing over the stick", adopted and adapted these without more ado as part of the process of forming new co-operatives. More and more people are trying out the methods and inventing their own variations. Part of the reason seems to be that when done well, with good rapport, these methods work, involving villagers in their own analysis and planning, and giving outsiders good insights. The experience is also often enjoyable for all concerned. Some talk of a revolution in local (rural and urban) research methods. Each of us can make a personal judgement.

Certainly, professional change is in the wind. Some of the more obvious changes are offsetting the biases of rural development tourism and liberation from survey slavery (meaning heavy and long questionnaire surveys). Less obvious, and more of a frontier, is developing better ways of enabling local (rural and urban) people themselves to be investigators, analysts and consultants, themselves setting priorities, planning, implementing and owning the process, as in PRA.

There has been debate over the terms RRA and PRA. Many PRA practitioners favour distinguishing PRA methods from "a PRA". PRA methods, like participatory mapping, can be used in an RRA or extractive-elicitive mode. "A PRA" is a term which should, they consider, be reserved for processes which empower local people.

The words in the acronyms are also problematic. "Relaxed" appraisal is a better description now than "rapid". "Rural" is misleading since there have now been numerous urban applications. And the word "appraisal" is too limited since PRA as process involves so much more than just appraisal. Some consider participatory learning or participatory inquiry to be closer. "We" learn from "them". They also learn through their presentation and sharing of

information, through their analysis, and through their teaching us. Much of our knowledge is still useful, but unless we start by unlearning and putting our knowledge, ideas and categories in second place, we cannot effectively learn from and with them.

Much PRA is enjoyed, both by local participants and by outsiders who initiate it. The word "fun" is entering the vocabulary and describes some of the experience. But some people with a strong disciplinary training find the reversal of teaching and learning difficult. It is not their fault. We can help one another firmly but sympathetically. And we can amiably tease one another when we slip into "holding the stick"; as of course I shall do!

That is enough prose.

Where does all this lead? How crucial is it that rural people should conduct their own investigations and analysis? Does PRA provide a strategy for local empowerment and sustainable development? Is it feasible on a large scale? These are questions you may wish to answer for yourself. For many now they are being answered by experience. To present background, and in search of understanding and answers, here are some headings and notes.

#### Why Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) Originally in the late 1970s and 1980s?

Need: accelerating rural change, and the need for good and timely information and insights

Recognising "us" and our confidence in our knowledge as much of the problem, and "them" and their knowledge as much of the solution

Rural development tourism - anti-poverty biases (spatial, project, person, seasonal...), and being rapid and wrong

The insulation, isolation and out-of-date experience of senior and powerful people, most of them men

Survey slavery - questionnaire surveys which take long, mislead, are wasteful, and are reported on, if at all, late

The search for cost-effectiveness, recognising trade-offs between depth, breadth, accuracy, and timeliness, assessing actual beneficial use of information against costs of obtaining it

#### Why also PRA now?

A confluence of approaches and methods - applied social anthropology, RRA, agroecosystem analysis, farming systems research, participatory action research, and RRA itself

A repertoire of new methods (mapping, matrices, diagramming.....) and of sequences of methods

The discovery that "they can do it"

The relative power and popularity of the open against the closed, the visual against the verbal, group against individual analysis, and comparing against measuring

The search for practical approaches and methods for decentralisation, democracy, diversity, sustainability, community participation, empowerment....

#### Principles shared by RRA and PRA

- \* offsetting biases (spatial, project, person - gender, elite etc, seasonal, professional, courtesy..)
- \* rapid progressive learning - flexible, exploratory, interactive, inventive
- \* reversals - learning from, with and by rural people, eliciting and using their criteria and categories, and finding, understanding and appreciating RPK (rural people's knowledge)
- \* optimal ignorance, and appropriate imprecision - not finding out more than is needed, not measuring more accurately than needed, and not trying to measure what does not need to be measured. We are trained to make absolute measurements, but often trends, scores or ranking are all that are required
- \* triangulation - using different methods, sources and disciplines, and a range of informants in a range of places, and cross-checking to get closer to the truth through successive approximations
- \* principal investigators' direct contact, face to face, in the field
- \* seeking diversity and differences

#### The Core of PRA

PRA, as it is evolving, is all this and more. Some of the "more" is:

- \* facilitating - they do it: empowering and enabling villagers to do more or all of the investigation, mapping, modelling, diagramming, ranking, scoring, quantification, analysis, presentation, planning... themselves, and to share and own the outcome. Analysis by them, shared with us.
- \* our behaviour and attitudes: for this, the primacy of our behaviour and attitudes, and of rapport, more important than methods, - asking villagers to teach us, respect for them, confidence that they can do it, handing over the stick...
- \* a culture of sharing - of information, of methods, of food, of field experiences (between NGOs, Government and villagers)
- \* critical self-awareness about our attitudes and behaviour; doubt; embracing and learning from error; continuously trying to do better; building learning and improvement into every experience

#### Some Problems and Dangers

- \* how to find the poorer, and enable them to do and share their analysis
- \* rapid unselfcritical adoption. Instructions to all in an organisation that they will immediately "use PRA"
- \* consultants who lack humility and claim but lack expertise

- \* rushing (rapid and wrong again)
- \* lecturing instead of listening, watching and learning. Is this problem worse with men than women, worse with older men than younger, and worst of all with those who have retired? Who holds the stick? Who wags the finger? Who teaches? Who listens? Who learns?

(The ERR, which I will explain, is relevant here)

- \* interrupting and interviewing people, and suggesting things to them, when they are trying to concentrate on mapping, ranking, scoring, diagramming...Learning not to interview is not easy
- \* imposing "our" ideas, categories, values, without realising we are doing it, making it difficult to learn from "them", and making "them" appear ignorant when they are not
- \* finding the questions to ask! (We assume we know what to ask. The beginning of wisdom is to realise how often we do not know, and to recognise that we need "their" help)
- \* senior people (and also younger ones) reluctant to spend time in the field let alone camp or night halt in a village
- \* normal professional pressures, including the tyranny of (bad, not good) statisticians, the desire for formal statistical respectability, and the compulsion to measure things rather than compare, rank, score, identify trends...
- \* wanting to be snug and safe in the warm womb of a preset programme and method
- \* male teams and neglect of women (again and again and again and again and again and...). What are the proportions of men and women among us here?
- \* rushing, lecturing and interrupting instead of listening, watching and learning. Forgive me, but it does need repeating. This can be a personal problem which we do not recognise in ourselves. (It is a problem for me, as you will discover). It is best treated as a joke, and pointed out to each other when we err. Which we all do.

#### Approaches and Methods

"Approach" is basic. If our attitudes are wrong, many of these methods will not work as well as they should. Where attitudes are right and rapport is good, we can be surprised by what local people show they know, and what they can do.

Don't be put off by the length of this list. Probably no one person in the world has used all these methods. The purpose of listing them is to show that the menu is varied. There is much to try out and explore, and much to invent for yourself.

You will already have used some of these methods. Some are plain common-sense and common practice. Others are ingenious and not obvious. Some are quite simple to do. Others less so. You can anyway invent your own variants. Appropriate attitudes and behaviour are often the key. Here are some of the

approaches and methods. The first eight come especially from the RRA tradition:

- \* offset the anti-poverty biases of rural development tourism (spatial, project, person, seasonal, courtesy...)
- \* find and review secondary data. They can mislead. They can also help a lot. At present, for the sake of a new balance, and of "our" reorientation and "their" participation, secondary data are not heavily stressed in PRA; but they can be very useful, especially in the earlier stages of e.g. deciding where to go
- \* observe directly (see for yourself) (It has been striking for me to begin to realise how much I do not see, or do not think to ask about. Does education deskill us? Am I alone, or do many of us have this problem?)
- \* find key informants. Ask: who are the experts? So obvious, and so often overlooked. Changes in fuels? Medicinal plants? Seasonal rainfall? Whose is pregnant? Goats? Treatments for diseases? Edible berries? Water supplies? Ecological history? Fodder grasses? Markets and prices? Factionalism and conflict? Changing values and customs? The priorities of poor people?....
- \* semi-structured interviewing. The Khon Kaen school of RRA has regarded this as the "core" of good RRA. Have a mental or written checklist, but be open to new aspects and to following up on the new and unexpected
- \* sequences or chains of interviews - from group to key informant, to other informants; or with a series of key informants, each expert on a different stage of a process (e.g. men on ploughing, women on weeding... etc)
- \* key probes: questions which can lead direct to key issues such as - "What do you talk about when you are together?" "What new practices have you or others in this village experimented with in recent years?" "What happens when someone's hut burns down?" "What (vegetable, tree, crop, crop variety, type of animal, tool, equipment...) would you like to obtain to try out?"...
- \* case studies and stories - a household history and profile, a farm, coping with a crisis, how a conflict was or was not resolved...
- \* groups (casual/encounter; focus/specialist; deliberately structured; community/neighbourhood). Group interviews are often powerful and efficient, but relatively neglected. Because of our obsession with counting through individual questionnaire-based interviews?
- \* they do it, as in all PRA: Local people as investigators and researchers - women, school teachers, volunteers, students, farmers, village specialists, poor people. They do transects, observe, interview other local people. Beyond this, their own analysis, priorities, futures desired, choices etc.
- \* do-it-yourself, supervised and taught by them (levelling a field, transplanting, weeding, lopping tree fodder, collecting common property resources, herding, fishing, cutting and carrying fodder grass, milking animals, fetching water, fetching firewood, cooking, digging compost, sweeping and cleaning, washing clothes, lifting water, plastering a house, thatching, collecting refuse...). Roles are reversed. They are the

experts. We are the clumsy novices. They teach us. We learn from them. And learn their problems.

- \* participatory mapping and modelling: people's mapping, drawing and colouring on the ground with sticks, seeds, powders etc etc or on paper, to make social, health or demographic maps (of the residential village), resource maps of village lands or of forests, maps of fields, farms, home gardens, topic maps (for water, soils, trees etc etc), service and opportunity maps, etc; making 3-D models of watersheds etc. These methods have been one of the most popular "discoveries" and can be combined with or lead into wealth or well-being ranking, watershed planning, health action planning etc. Census mapping can use seeds for people, cards for households...
- \* local analysis of secondary sources: Participatory analysis of aerial photographs (often best at 1:5000) to identify soil types, land conditions, land tenure etc; also satellite imagery
- \* estimates, comparisons and quantification: often using local measures, judgements and materials such as seeds, pellets, fruits, stones or sticks as counters or measures, sometimes combined with participatory maps and models
- \* transect walks - systematically walking with key informants through an area, observing, asking, listening, discussing, identifying different zones, local technologies, introduced technologies, seeking problems, solutions, opportunities, and mapping and/or diagramming resources and findings. Transects now take many forms - vertical, loop, watercourse, combing, even (in the Philippines) sea-bottom.
- \* time lines and trend and change analysis: chronologies of events, listing major remembered local events with approximate dates; people's accounts of the past, of how customs, practices and things close to them have changed; ethno-biographies - local histories of a crop, an animal, a tree, a pest, a weed...; diagrams and maps showing ecological histories, changes in land use and cropping patterns, population, migration, fuels used, education, health, credit...; and the causes of changes and trends, often in a participatory mode with estimation of relative magnitudes
- \* seasonal calendars - distribution of days of rain, amount of rain or soil moisture, crops, agricultural labour, non-agricultural labour, diet, food consumption, milk, sickness, prices, animal fodder, fuel, migration, income, expenditure, debt etc etc
- \* daily time use analysis: indicating relative amounts of time, degrees of drudgery etc of activities, sometimes indicating seasonal variations
- \* livelihood analysis - seasonality, crises and coping, relative income, expenditure, credit and debt, multiple activities...
- \* institutional or "chapati"/Venn diagramming: identifying individuals and institutions important in and for a community or group, or within an organisation, and their relationships
- \* participatory linkage diagramming: of linkages, flows, connections and causality. This has been used for marketing, nutrient flows on farms, migration, etc



- \* well-being grouping (or wealth ranking) - grouping or ranking households according to well-being or wealth, including those considered poorest or worst off. A good lead into discussions of the livelihoods of the poor and how they cope
- \* matrix scoring and ranking, especially using matrices and seeds to compare through scoring, for example different trees, or soils, or methods of soil and water conservation, varieties of a crop or animal, fields on a farm, fish, weeds.... and to express preferences
- \* local indicators, e.g. what are poor people's criteria of well-being, and how do they differ from those we assume for them?
- \* team contracts and interactions - contracts drawn up by teams with agreed norms of behaviour; modes of interaction within teams, including changing pairs, evening discussions, mutual criticism and help; how to behave in the field, etc. (The team may be just outsiders, or a joint team with villagers)
- \* shared presentations and analysis, where maps, models, diagrams, and findings are presented by villagers and/or outsiders, especially to village or community meetings, and checked, corrected and discussed. Brainstorming, especially joint sessions with villagers. But who talks? Who talks how much? Who interrupts whom? Whose ideas dominate? Who lectures?
- \* contrast comparisons - asking group A to analyse group B, and vice versa. This has been used for gender awareness, asking men to analyse how women spend their time (Do ask for Meena Bilgi's note on this if you are interested)
- \* alternatives to questionnaires. A new repertoire of participatory alternatives to the use of questionnaires, which generate shared information which can be added up in tables. Questionnaires, if used at all, are late in the process, and very short and focus, tied to dummy tables. NOT long questionnaires, and NOT early in the process, unless for a sharp and narrow purpose.
- \* immediate report writing. If there is to be a report, writing it then and there. Easier said than done. But remember the files and queues of supplicants waiting when you get back. Will the report sit in the I-will-do-it-next-week-when-there-will-be-more-time box, and silt over with layers of later papers? And even if you do get round to it, how much will you have forgotten after the lapse of time?

#### Practical Tips

- \* Don't lecture. Look, listen and learn. Facilitate. Don't dominate. Don't interrupt. When they are mapping, modelling or diagramming, don't interfere: let them get on with it. When people are thinking or discussing before replying, give them time to think or discuss. (This sounds easy. It is not. We tend to be habitual interrupters. Do clever, important and articulate people who think fast find it hardest to keep their mouths shut?)

So Listen, Learn, Facilitate. Don't Dominate! Don't Interrupt!

- \* spend nights in villages
- \* embrace error. We all make mistakes, and do things badly sometimes. Never mind. Don't hide it. Share it. When things go wrong, it is a chance to learn. Say "Aha. That was a mess. Good. Now what can we learn from it?".
- \* ask yourself - who is being met and heard, and what is being seen, and where and why; and who is not being met and heard, and what is not being seen, and where and why?
- \* relax (RRA = relaxed rural appraisal). Don't rush.
- \* meet people when it suits them, and when they can be at ease, not when it suits us. This applies even more strongly to women than to men. PRA methods often take time, and women tend to have many obligations demanding their attention. Sometimes the best times for them are the worse times for us - a couple of hours after dark, or sometimes early in the morning. Compromises are often needed, but it is a good discipline, and good for rapport, to try to meet at their best times rather than ours; and don't force discussions to go on for too long. Stop before people are too tired.
- \* be around in the evening, at night and in the early morning.
- \* allow unplanned time, walk and wander around.
- \* ask about what is seen.
- \* probe. This sounds easy, but is one of the most neglected skills, often driven out by actual or supposed lack of time. All too often we accept the first reply to a question as being all that is needed, when there is much, much more to be learnt, and people know more, much more, than we supposed
- \* notice, seize on and investigate diversity, whatever is different, the unexpected.
- \* use the six helpers - who, what, where, when, why and how
- \* ask open-ended questions
- \* show interest and enthusiasm in learning from people
- \* have second and third meetings and interviews with the same people
- \* allow more time than expected for team interaction (I have never yet got this right) and for changing the agenda
- \* enjoy it! It is often interesting, and often fun
- \* remember Raul's three rules (remind me to explain)

#### Applications and Uses of RRA and PRA

These are many. You will have your own needs and ideas. Some of the main types of RRA and PRA process have been:

- \* exploratory, learning by outsiders about conditions generally

- \* appraisal and planning for the identification, planning and action by and with local people, enabling them to appraise, analyse, plan, act, manage - monitoring, evaluation, reappraisal, ad hoc problem investigation...
- \* training and orientation for outsiders and villagers
- \* topic investigations

Examples of topics include the use and deterioration of common property resources; women's time use; women's and men's different priorities; why poor farmers do and don't take loans; why they do and don't plant trees; how poor people spend lump sums of money; the spread of animal diseases; traditional herding, fishing or tree management skills; sequences and preferences in using different treatments for diseases; local practices of soil, water and nutrient conservation and concentration; historical changes in child-rearing practices; the non-adoption of an innovation; why some children do not go to school, or drop out; historical changes in diet; seasonal deprivation; migration; impact of a road; the reality of what happens in a Government programme...

Some of the more common applications include:

natural resources and agriculture

- \* watersheds, and soil and water conservation
- \* land policy
- \* forestry and agroforestry
- \* fisheries and aquaculture
- \* biodiversity and wildlife reserve buffer zones
- \* village plans
- \* crops and animal husbandry, including farmer participatory research/ farming systems research and problem identification by farmers
- \* irrigation
- \* markets

programmes for equity

- \* women and gender
- \* credit
- \* selection: finding, selecting and deselecting people for poverty-oriented programmes
- \* income-earning: identification and analysis of non-agricultural income-earning opportunities.

#### health and nutrition

- \* health assessments and monitoring
- \* food security and nutrition assessment and monitoring
- \* water and sanitation assessment, planning and location.
- \* emergency assessment and management

Some of the benefits can be and have been:

- \* empowering the poor and weak - enabling a group (e.g. labourers, women, poor women, small farmers etc) or a community themselves to analyse conditions, giving them confidence to state and assert their priorities, to present proposals, to make demands and to take action, leading to sustainable and effective participatory programmes
- \* the project process including identification, appraisal, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, all in a participatory mode
- \* direct learning and updating for senior professionals and officials, especially those trapped in headquarters
- \* orientation of students, NGO workers, Government staff, and university and training institute staff towards a culture of open learning in organisations
- \* diversification: encouraging and enabling the expression and exploitation of local diversity in otherwise standardised programmes
- \* policy review- changing and adapting policies through relatively timely, accurate and relevant insights
- \* research: identifying research priorities and initiating participatory research

and you will have others to add.

#### Some Frontiers and Challenges for PRA

- \* behaviour and attitudes: the development and dissemination of approaches and methods for enabling outsiders to change
- \* assuring quality: how to prevent rapid spread bringing low quality - how to make self-critical awareness and improvement part of the genes of PRA
- \* PRA in large organisations: how to establish and maintain PRA in large organisations (government departments, large NGOs, universities.....) the flexibility, diversity and behaviour and attitudes required by PRA
- \* methods for farmers: how to enable farmers better to do their own farming systems research, and their own R and D
- \* a culture of sharing and lateral learning: how to sustain and enhance sharing, between outsiders and villagers, between different organisations - NGOs, government departments, universities and training institutes... and

to avoid possessive territoriality. Sharing and learning laterally, as when local people themselves become facilitators of PRA

- \* empowerment, the weak, and conflicts: how to enable women, and the poorer, to take part more and more, and to gain more and more, and how to identify, help the resolution of conflicts between groups in communities
- \* inventiveness and creativity: how to sustain and enhance inventiveness and creativity with new methods, and with combinations and sequences of methods, and how to develop and spread better alternatives to questionnaire surveys
- \* evaluation and legitimation: how to test and evaluate PRA other than experientially
- \* trainer/facilitators: how to help more people become good trainer/facilitators, and to have the freedom to provide PRA learning experiences for others. Are new arrangements needed?

And you will have your own list.

Use your own best judgement

This heading has the final word. One can ask:

Are PRA-type approaches and methods as they evolve fringe phenomena and passing fads, or are they the vanguard of a permanent shift, something that will come to stay, grow and spread, in NGOs, Government organisations, training institutes, and universities? Do they present points of entry for change? Part of an agenda for the 1990s and the 21st century?

I hope our workshop will help you to make your own judgement about these and other questions and to decide for yourself whether PRA approaches and methods, if they are new to you, can be of use to you and others in your work.

Robert Chambers  
Institute of Development Studies  
University of Sussex  
Brighton BN1 9RE, UK

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PS To learn more about PRA, and to keep up with developments, you can write to: The Sustainable Agriculture Programme, International Institute for Environment and Development, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD, London, and ask to be sent RRA Notes. This is free, but there is a charge for more than two back copies. I suggest you ask for number 13 (a bumper issue on Indian experience). 15 is on well-being and wealth ranking, and 16 on health. 18 has recently come out.

Also, an informal paper "Some Sources on PRA " and lists of PRA network contacts in a number of countries, both these periodically updated, are available on request from Helen McLaren, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton BN1 9RE, UK - tel: 44-273-678490 fax: 44-273-621202. All you have to do is write and ask.

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Notes for participants in workshops and seminars 10 - 17 October 1991 to be held in Oslo, convened by the Centre for Partnership in Development; in Helsinki, organised by the National Board of Education Training Unit for Developing Countries; and in Stockholm, convened by the Development Studies Unit, Department of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University.

These notes are an outline introduction to what has been called rapid (but is better relaxed!) and participatory rural appraisal. The headings indicate some of the range of the subject, and especially some of the many methods now known. Please do not be put off by the length of the lists. They are a menu, not a syllabus! Since I have spent the last two years in India, the experience reported on has a South Asian bias; but I think the approaches, methods and principles of PRA probably transcend boundaries, as is indicated by their adoption in the North as well as the South, and their rapid and at times spontaneous spread.

Pointers are given to the history, rationale and methods of rapid rural appraisal (RRA) and of its further development now often known as participatory rural appraisal (PRA). The earlier RRA was more "extractive": "we" went to rural areas and obtained data from "them", brought it away, and processed it, sometimes to see what we thought would be good for "them". Recently, this has become more participatory: "we" still go to rural areas, but more and more as learners, convenors, catalysts and facilitators. We enable rural people to do their own investigations, to share their knowledge and teach us, to do the analysis and presentations, to plan, and to own the outcome.

Some of the methods come from social anthropology. Some, especially diagramming, were first developed and practised on any scale in Southeast Asia, as part of agroecosystem analysis, by Gordon Conway and others, and the University of Khon Kaen in Thailand has been a major source of innovation and inspiration. Others methods seem to be new, but may well be rediscoveries. What is new is the way they have all come together, and the way RRA/PRA knows no boundaries whether of discipline or of geography. Interestingly, RRA/PRA technology is now being transferred from South to North, with these methods being used in Switzerland and Australia in agriculture and in the UK in health.

The term PRA was probably first used in 1988 in Kenya, where its application is spreading. There have been parallel developments in other countries, including some of those of Latin America and in West Africa. In the past year and a half, South Asia (India and Nepal) has been the scene of much PRA innovation. The spirit of inventiveness which has gone with this is spreading, and enabling people in different parts of the world to feel liberated and able to develop their own varieties of approach and method. People (villagers and outsiders), once they have unfrozen and established rapport, enjoy improvising, varying and inventing methods.

The rate of innovation makes it impossible now to keep up to date. I have repeatedly had to revise these notes over the past two years. In India alone, it has been difficult to keep up with the innovations of NGOs such as MYRADA in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme in Gujarat, Action Aid in Karnataka and elsewhere, SPEECH near Madurai, and KGVK in Ranchi. Much also has been happening in other countries,

including Nepal and Kenya. Much creativity has been shown by fieldworkers, and by the rural people with whom they have been interacting. There have probably been parallel developments in several places, but South-South sharing has so far been very restricted.

A current question is what potential the approaches and methods have for training institutes and for Government field organisations. In South Asia, and also increasingly in parts of East Africa, there have been many requests for training for government organisations. So far most of this has been concerned with village-level planning, watershed development and management, social forestry, tank rehabilitation, women's programmes, credit, client ("beneficiary") selection and deselection, health, animal husbandry and agricultural extension. Training institutes are interested in adopting and adapting the approach and methods for the fieldwork and field experience of their probationers and students. In contrast, universities have been slow to show interest. In India at least, the NGOs and NGO staff with experience have been increasing quite fast, and competent trainers have doubled or trebled in the past year. A recent estimate is that 50 people in India are now conducting training.

Quality assurance has become a concern. Demand for training exceeds the supply of competent trainers. There is a danger of trying to go too far too fast. PRA could become a fashionable label, with "expert" consultants saying they can provide it when they cannot. Already a case has been reported where a group in Europe claimed to be PRA trainers, were invited to a West African country, went, and wasted everyone's time because they were neither experienced nor competent. Another danger is that people will try methods without having first established rapport, and will then say that the methods do not work, when in the circumstances they could not have been expected to work.

On the other hand, some people whose attitudes are truly participatory can, with a minimum of exposure, simply go ahead and learn as they go. The key is personal behaviour and attitudes. This includes critical self awareness and embracing error; sitting down, listening and learning; not lecturing but "handing over the stick" to villagers, who become the main teachers and analysts; having confidence that "they can do it"; and an open-ended inventiveness.

In the meantime, the methods have been spreading on their own. For example, a voluntary agency has adopted and adapted participatory mapping and the principle of "handing over the stick" as part of the process of forming new cooperatives. More and more people are trying out the methods and inventing their own and their own variations. Part of the reason seems to be that when done well, with good rapport, these methods work, involving villagers in their own analysis and planning, and giving outsiders good insights. The experience is also often enjoyable for all concerned. Some observers are talking of a coming revolution in rural research methods. I do not think too much should be claimed too soon. We can wait and see how things develop and each of us can make a personal judgement.

Whatever that judgement is, you may agree that professional change is in the wind. Some of the more obvious changes are offsetting the biases of rural development tourism and liberation from survey slavery (meaning heavy and long questionnaire surveys). Less obvious, and more of a frontier, is developing better ways of enabling rural people themselves to be investigators, analysts and consultants, with it becoming them much more who set priorities, plan, and implement, and own the process.

Much PRA is enjoyed, both by rural participants and by outsiders who initiate it. The word "fun" is entering the vocabulary and describes some of the experience. "Relaxed" rural appraisal is a better description than "rapid". And the word "appraisal" is a bit out of date now. Participatory learning is closer. "We" learn from "them". They also learn something by presenting information and teaching us. Much of our knowledge is still useful, but unless we start by unlearning and putting our knowledge, ideas and categories in second place, we cannot effectively learn from and with them.

Some people with a strong disciplinary training find this reversal of teaching and learning difficult. It is not their fault. We can help one another firmly but sympathetically. And we can amiably tease one another when we slip into "holding the stick"; as of course Parmesh and I will do!

That is enough prose.

Where does all this lead? How crucial is it that rural people themselves should themselves conduct investigations and analysis? Does PRA provide a strategy for local empowerment and sustainable development? Is it feasible on a large scale? The questions are open. To present background, and in search of understanding and answers, here are some headings and notes.

#### Why Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) Originally in the late 1970s and 1980s?

Need: accelerating rural change, and the need for good and timely information and insights

Recognising "us" and our confidence in our knowledge as much of the problem, and "them" and their knowledge as much of the solution

Rural development tourism - anti-poverty biases (spatial, project, person, seasonal,...), and being rapid and wrong

The insulation, isolation and out-of-date experience of senior and powerful people, most of them men

Survey slavery - questionnaire surveys which take long, mislead, are wasteful, and are reported on, if at all, late

The search for cost-effectiveness, recognising trade-offs between depth, breadth, accuracy, and timeliness, assessing actual beneficial use of information against costs of obtaining it

#### Some Core Principles and Practices of RRA

- \* rapid progressive learning - flexible, exploratory, interactive, inventive
- \* reversals - learning from, with and by rural people, eliciting and using their criteria and categories, and finding, understanding and appreciating ITK (indigenous technical knowledge)
- \* optimal ignorance, and appropriate imprecision - not finding out more than is needed, not measuring more accurately than needed, and not trying to measure what does not need to be measured. We are trained to make absolute measurements, but often trends, scores or ranking are all that are required.



- \* triangulation - using different methods, sources and disciplines, and a range of informants in a range of places, and cross-checking to get closer to the truth through successive approximations
- \* principal investigators' direct contact, face to face, in the field

#### The Core of PRA

PRA, as it is evolving, is all this and more. Some of the "more" is:

- \* empowering and enabling villagers to do more or all of the investigation, mapping, modelling, diagramming, ranking, scoring, quantification, analysis, presentation, planning....themselves, and to share and own the outcome
- \* for this, the primacy of rapport, and our behaviour and attitudes - asking villagers to teach us, respect for them, confidence that they can do it, handing over the stick...
- \* a culture of sharing - of information, of methods, of food, of field experiences (between NGOs, Government and villagers)
- \* critical self-awareness about our attitudes and behaviour; doubt; embracing and learning from error; continuously trying to do better; building learning and improvement into every experience

#### Some Problems and Dangers

- \* how to find the poorer, and learn from and with them
- \* LECTURING INSTEAD OF LISTENING AND LEARNING. Is this problem worse with men than women, worse with older men than younger, and worst of all with those who have retired? Who holds the stick? Who wags the finger? Who teaches? Who listens? Who learns?

(The ERR, which I will explain, is relevant here)

- \* senior people (and also younger ones) who do not want to spend time in the field let alone camp or night halt in a village
- \* rushing (rapid and wrong again)
- \* imposing "our" ideas, categories, values, without realising we are doing it, making it difficult to learn from "them", and making "them" appear ignorant when they are not
- \* normal professional pressures, including the tyranny of (bad, not good) statisticians, the desire for formal statistical respectability, and the compulsion to measure things rather than just compare, rank, score, identify trends...
- \* wanting to be snug and safe in the warm womb of a preset programme and method
- \* finding the questions to ask! (We assume we know what to ask. The beginning of wisdom is to realise how often we do not know, and to recognise that we need "their" help)

- \* male teams and neglect of women (again and again and again and again and again and....) What is the proportion of men and women in this room?
- \* LECTURING INSTEAD OF LISTENING AND LEARNING. Yes, it has to be repeated. This can be a personal problem which we do not recognise in ourselves. (It is a problem for me, as you will discover). It is best treated as a joke, and pointed out to each other when we err. Which we all do.

#### Approaches and Methods

"Approach" is basic. If our attitudes are wrong, many of these methods will not work or not work as well as they should. Where attitudes are right and rapport is good, we can be surprised by what villagers show they know, and what they can do.

Don't be put off by the length of this list. Probably no one person in the world has used all these methods. The purpose of listing them is to show that the menu is varied. There is much to try out and explore, and much to invent for yourself.

You will already have used some of these methods. Some are plain commonsense and common practice. Others are ingenious and not obvious. Some are quite simple to do. Others are less so. You can anyway invent your own variants. Appropriate attitudes and behaviour are often the key. Here are some of the approaches and methods:

- \* offset the anti-poverty biases of rural development tourism (spatial, project, person, seasonal, courtesy...)
- \* find and review secondary data. They can mislead. They can also help a lot. At present, for the sake of a new balance, and of "our" reorientation and "their" participation, secondary data are not heavily stressed; but they can be very useful.
- \* observe directly (see for yourself) (It has been striking for me to begin to realise how much I do not see, or do not think to ask about. Does university education deskill us? Am I alone, or do many of us have this problem?)
- \* do-it-yourself, supervised and taught by them (levelling a field, transplanting, weeding, lopping tree fodder, collecting common property resources, herding, fishing, cutting and carrying fodder grass, milking animals, fetching water, fetching firewood, digging compost, sweeping and cleaning, washing clothes, lifting water, plastering a house, thatching.....). Roles are reversed. They are the experts. We are the novices. They teach us. We learn from them.
- \* find key informants. Ask: who are the experts? So obvious, and so often overlooked.
- \* semi-structured interviewing. The Khon Kaen school regards this as the "core" of good RRA. Have a mental or written checklist, but be open to new aspects and to following up on the new and unexpected

- \* groups (casual/encounter; focus/specialist; deliberately structured; community/neighbourhood). Group interviews are often powerful and efficient, but we have neglected them, perhaps because of our obsession with counting through individual questionnaire-based interviews
- \* sequences or chains of interviews - from group to key informant, to other informants; or with a series of key informants, each expert on a different stage of a process (e.g. men on ploughing, women on weeding..etc)
- \* villagers and village residents as investigators and researchers - women, school teachers, volunteers, students, farmers, village specialists, poor people. They do transects, observe, interview other villagers. This is now a major frontier, with villagers often showing greater abilities than outsiders commonly expect.
- \* participatory mapping and modelling - aerial photographs and overlays; people's mapping, drawing and colouring on the ground or on paper to make social, health or demographic maps (of the residential village), resource maps of village lands or of forests, maps of fields, farms, home gardens, or topic maps (for water, soils, trees etc etc): making 3-D models of watersheds etc. These methods have been one of the most popular "discoveries" of the past two years, and can be combined with or lead into wealth or wellbeing ranking, watershed planning, health action planning etc
- \* participatory transects - systematically walking with key informants through an area, observing, asking, listening, discussing, identifying different zones, local technologies, introduced technologies, seeking problems, solutions, opportunities, and mapping and/or diagramming resources and findings. Transects now take many forms - vertical, loop, watercourse, combing...
- \* time line: a history of major remembered events in a village or community with approximate dates. A good icebreaker, and a good lead into
- \* local histories: people's accounts of the past, of how things close to them have changed, ecological histories, histories of cropping patterns, changes in customs and practices, changes and trends in population, migration, fuels used, education, health...and causes of these
- \* seasonal diagramming - days of rain, amount of rain or soil moisture, crops, agricultural labour, non-agricultural labour, diet, food consumption, sickness, prices, animal fodder, fuel, migration, income, expenditure, debt etc etc
- \* livelihood analysis - seasonality, crises and coping, relative income, expenditure, credit and debt, multiple activities...
- \* participatory diagramming, estimating and analysis - bar diagrams, visible estimating using seeds, pellets, fruits, stones etc, pie diagrams, Venn diagrams, etc, causal diagramming and analysis...

- \* wealth or wellbeing ranking - identifying clusters of households according to wealth or wellbeing, including those considered poorest or worst off. A good lead into discussions of the livelihoods of the poor and how they cope
- \* ranking and scoring - especially pairwise ranking, and direct matrix ranking and scoring. Innovations in the past year have confirmed that these are versatile methods for eliciting and learning villagers' categories, criteria, priorities and choices...
- \* key local indicators, e.g. what are poor people's criteria of wellbeing, and how do they differ from those we assume for them?
- \* key probes: questions which can lead direct to key issues such as - "What do you talk about when you are together?" "What new practices have you or others in this village experimented with in recent years?" "What happens when someone's hut burns down?" "What (vegetable, tree, crop, crop variety, type of animal, tool, equipment...) would you like to obtain to try out?"...
- \* case studies and stories - a household history and profile, a farm, coping with a crisis, how a conflict was or was not resolved...
- \* rural people's own analysis, priorities, futures desired, choices etc. A frontier on which many outsiders have experience, but where much remains to be learnt and shared about approaches and methods
- \* team interactions -changing pairs, evening discussions, mutual help, etc where the team may be just outsiders, or a joint team with villagers
- \* shared presentations and analysis, where maps, models, diagrams, and findings are presented by villagers and outsiders. Brainstorming, especially joint sessions with villagers. But who talks? Who talks how much? Who interrupts whom? Whose ideas dominate? Who lectures?
- \* contrast comparisons - asking group A why group B is different or does something different, and vice versa.
- \* questionnaires. If at all, let them be late, light and tight, tied to dummy tables. NOT long questionnaires, and NOT early in the process, unless for a sharp and narrow purpose
- \* if there is to be a report, writing it then and there. Easier said than done. But remember the files and queues of supplicants waiting when you get back. Will the report sit in the I-will-do-it-next-week-when-there-will-be-more-time box, and silt over with layers of later papers? And even if you do get round to it, how much will you have forgotten after the lapse of time?

### Practical Tips

- \* Don't lecture. Look, listen and learn. Facilitate. Don't dominate. Don't interrupt. When they are mapping, modelling or diagramming, Don't interfere: let them get on with it. When people are thinking or discussing before replying, give them time to think or discuss.

So Listen, Learn, Facilitate. Don't Dominate! Don't Interrupt!

- \* spend nights in villages
- \* embrace error. We all make mistakes, and do things badly sometimes. Never mind. Don't hide it. Share it. When things go wrong, treat it as an opportunity to learn. Say "Ahha. That was a mess. Good. Now what can we learn from it?".
- \* ask yourself - who is being met and heard, and what is being seen, where and why; and who is not being met and heard, and what is not being seen, and where and why?
- \* relax (RRA = relaxed rural appraisal). Don't rush.
- \* meet people when it suits them, and when they can be at ease, not when it suits us. (Well, compromises are often necessary, but it is a good discipline, and good for rapport, to try to meet at their best times rather than ours); and don't force discussions to go on for too long. Stop before people are tired.
- \* be around in the evening, at night and in the early morning. Stay the night in villages if you can
- \* allow unplanned time, walk and wander around
- \* ask about what is seen
- \* probe (sounds easy, but is one of the most neglected skills, often driven out by actual or supposed lack of time. All too often we accept the first reply to a question as being all that is needed, when there is much, much more to be learnt, and people know more, much more, than we supposed)
- \* notice, seize on, investigate, the unexpected.
- \* use the six helpers - who, what, where, when, why and how
- \* ask open-ended questions
- \* show interest and enthusiasm in learning from people
- \* have second and third meetings and interviews with the same people
- \* allow more time than expected for team interaction (I have never yet got this right) and for changing the agenda
- \* enjoy it! It is often very interesting, and often fun

### Examples and Applications

These are almost endless. You will have your own needs and ideas. But some are:

- \* exploratory learning about rural conditions generally
- \* starting in a village. Participatory project and programme identification and planning by and with villagers
- \* selection of clients ("beneficiaries") for poverty-oriented programmes
- \* direct field learning and updating for senior professionals and officials, especially those trapped in headquarters
- \* natural resource assessment, agroecosystem analysis, appraisal for watershed development, etc
- \* health and nutrition investigations and assessments
- \* assessing and dealing with emergencies
- \* enabling a group (e.g. labourers, poor women, farmers etc) itself to analyse conditions, and to specify their priorities
- \* topic and problem RRAs: investigating a topic or understanding the reasons for a problem : deterioration of common property resources; why poor farmers do and don't take loans; why they do and don't plant trees; how poor people spend lump sums of money; the spread of animal diseases; traditional herding or fishing skills; sequences and preferences in using different treatments for diseases; local practices of soil, water and nutrient conservation and concentration; how people spend their time; historical changes in child-rearing practices; the non-adoption of an innovation; why some children do not go to school, or drop out; historical changes in diet; seasonal deprivation; migration; impact of a road; the reality of what happens in a Government programme...
- \* project and programme management - monitoring, evaluation, reappraisal, ad hoc problem investigation...
- \* identifying research priorities and initiating participatory research
- \* academic research
- \* preliminary investigations for questionnaire surveys
- \* orientation of students, NGO workers, Government staff, and university and training institute staff towards a culture of open learning in organisations
- \* encouraging and enabling the expression and exploitation of local diversity in otherwise standardised programmes
- \* gaining timely information for government decision-making

and you will have others to add.

### Some Frontiers of PRA

Here are some current questions:

- \* How to prevent RRA/PRA (or whatever anything like them is called) becoming an overblown donors' and department's darling, a fad seen as a panacea, a fashion that flourishes too fast and then fades and falls on its face
- \* How, rapidly and effectively, to enable outsiders to change their behaviour and attitudes
- \* How to sustain and enhance sharing, between outsiders and villagers, between NGOs, between NGOs and government....
- \* How to enable women, and the poorer, to take part more and more, and to gain more and more
- \* How to identify, handle and resolve conflicts between groups in villages
- \* How to avoid arousing undue expectations and dependence among villagers
- \* How to sustain and enhance inventiveness and creativity with new methods, and with combinations and sequences of methods
- \* How to assure quality when approaches and methods spread on their own
- \* How to find and support more people able and willing to facilitate experience and training for others
- \* How to test, validate and legitimate PRA in the face to conservative professionalism
- \* How to liberate those trapped in universities and conservative training institutions, overcoming or by-passing institutional inertia, escaping from the classroom prison, and reassuring senior professionals who feel threatened
- \* How to liberate researchers, and nurture play, inventiveness creativity and learning

And you will have your own list.

### The Future of PRA

Has PRA really, realistically, a large-scale potential for empowering poor people and communities, and for promoting sustainable development?

Is the biggest need and opportunity the use of PRA in Government field organisations? For new roles and new relationships between officials and people; for planning and action by villagers; for decentralisation, differentiation, and reversals for diversity?

If so, who will be the best facilitators and trainers? People in NGOs? People in Government training institutes? Or Government field staff themselves? Or who?

Are PRA-type approaches and methods as they evolve mere fringe phenomena and passing fads, or are they the vanguard of a paradigm shift, a permanent change, something that will come to stay, grow and spread, in NGOs, Government organisations, training institutes, and even universities?

Do they present points of entry for change? Part of an agenda for the 1990s and the 21st century?

I hope through our discussions you will be able to make your own judgement about questions such as these; and to decide better for yourself whether PRA approaches and methods, if they are new to you, can be of use to you and others in your work.

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Robert Chambers  
Institute of Development Studies  
University of Sussex  
Brighton BN1 9RE, UK